they believe in inoculation. They take the scales of the sores of a small-pox patient, dry them, reduce them to powder, and then mix a little of the powder with water, and give it to the person who is to be inoculated, to drink. Sometimes an incision is made in the skin and a small quantity of this powder is inserted. 751

[73]INTERMARRIAGE--It is usual for persons to marry into their own caste, but not necessarily into their own sub-division thereof. A man, however, may marry into the caste below his own, a woman must marry either into her own caste or into the caste above it. For forbidden degrees of relationship, see "Incest." 582 564

[75]JELLY--jellee (European pudding) gólum (an unstrained jelly made by Ladákis, out of sheep's head or feet, and given to sick persons, as being nourishing). 758

JUGGLER--hunar ltankhan. In Ladák jugglers form a distinct subdivision of one of the lowest "castes." 564 463

[76]KALON--kálón. Hereditary Prime Minister, but see "Kolon" and "Minister." 645

KARDAR--kárdár. The Ladák Wazárat is divided into 13 Kárdárships; the Kárdár's duty is to collect revenue, report and investigate criminal cases, keep the "beygár" or "forced labour" rosters, and generally to superintend local affairs. In return, his own share of "beygár" is remitted, and he gets 2 per cent. of all revenue collected in cash. On the share of the revenue paid in kind, he gets nothing. 631 647

[77]KOLON--kálón. The title of the family to which, in the old days, the Prime Minister always belonged, also the title of the Prime Minister himself. But see "Minister". 645

KUT--roosta (the root of the "Aucklandia costus"). Kut grows in the Sind Valley and other parts of Kashmir. It has a violet-like scent, and is used for incense. Its collection and sale is a monopoly of the Kashmir Durbar. 137 438 656

LABOURER--hlápa (general), khurpa (load carrier), thralpa or 000

comprises the lowest lying portions of Western Tibet. 101

The word "ngarees" means "subject" or "dependent," the word "khor" means "circle" or "circumadjacent parts," and hence "province" or "district," [78] and the word "sum" means "three." From these words we get the title "ngáreeskhorsum" (marked ngari khorsum in Cunningham's map), meaning. "The three dependent provinces," which is the term even now applied by the Lhása Government, to that part of Tibet which is situated to the west of the Maryum la (marked Mariam la on our maps). The three provinces referred to are Ladák, Gárdok, 631
and Googey, all of which were formerly subordinate to Lhása.

As regards the last remaining name, Cunningham says "Ladák is the 101
central and most populous district of the country, from which it is sometimes called mang-yul, or the district of many people."

I don't think this can be correct, for the word "mangyool" means "many countries," not "many people," moreover the name was applied not only to Ladák proper i.e. the Indus Valley between Baltistan and Chángtháng, but to the whole of the dominions of the Raja of Ladák. Probably the true reason for the name was that the then kingdom of Ladak, included many countries besides Ladák proper, namely, Nubra, Zángskar, Tánksey, (i.e. Tángttsey or Tángchey) Rudok, Poorik, Sooroo, Drás, Spiti and Roopshoo and Láhaul.

There is also another name by which Ladák is sometimes called by its inhabitants viz., "dzambooling-i-ltheya" which means literally the "navel of the world" or as we should say "the hub of the universe."

At the present time the country which we speak of as "Ladák," includes only Ladák proper, Nubra, Tánksey, and Roopshoo. 175
After the Dogra conquest of the country, (1834 to 1842) Drás 631
Sooroo, and Poorik were detached from Ladák and annexed to 648
the Baltistan Wazárat, while Zángskár was attached on to the Jamoo Governorship. Rudok had been lost to the Ladák Rajas some time before the Dogras came, but in the summer of 1841, Zorawár Singh recovered it, though on his defeat and death in December 1841 it was again evacuated by the Dogras. In 1842 a treaty was concluded between the Dogras and the Chinese recognizing the established boundaries of Ladák, as they had stood at the time of the Dogra invasion of Ladák. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, the Sikhs had obtained possession of Láhaul and Spiti, which provinces formed part of

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
717 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and
439 on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month,
443 or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

WT 291 LEGGING--kángphees or kángpheeng (meaning, properly speaking, the felt leggings worn by Ladákis, but also used for leather gaiters, and Kashmir patties).

WT 426 [88]
LEND TO--skinba táng ches or respectfully karkeen sal ches (to lend money, etc., not on interest), bulon táng ches or phar la hmul tang ches (to lend money on interest) dres la nas táng ches (to lend grain on interest. The rate charged is always "sowái," that is to say, for every 4 lent, 5 have to be paid at the next harvest), yár ches or yártey táng ches (to lend anything, when the thing itself has to be returned to its owner).

T 101 631 WT ● 631 LHASA--Ladákis usually speak of the town as Hlása, but the correct name is Lhása ("Lha" means "a god" or "fairy" and "sa" stands for "sakiat," which means "place.") The country subject to the Lhasa authorities is also spoken of as "Lhása country." As a matter of fact, the country in question, consists of four provinces, viz., on the east "Kham," (meaning "side") then comes Oo (spelt "U" in our maps and meaning "centre") in, which is the town of Lhása, then comes "Tshang" (meaning "pure,") and then comes what was once Ngarees-khorsum (see under "Ladák.") Prior to the Dogra conquest of Ladák, the Ladákis used to look upon the Lhása Government as all powerful in things temporal, and spiritual. It is still regarded with great awe by Ladákis.

T 642 648 115 The Lhása Government, its constitution, and the extent to which it is subject to Chinese guidance, is a subject of which but little is generally known, and the following information, obtained by me from the SkooSHok (avatár) of Speetuk, and other persons who have resided at Lhása, may therefore be of interest, and is inserted accordingly, though beyond the ordinary scope of this work, which professes to deal only with Ladák or Western Tibet.

In olden days, Lhasa was governed by Kings, who to some extent were under the influence of China, but, according to Markham, Chinese power was first definitely established in Lhása in 1720, when resident Political Agents were appointed. In 1749 an insurrection against the Chinese broke out, which ended in favour of the Chinese, and resulted in the establishment, at Lhása of Lobzong Kalsang the sixth Dalái Láma, with two Chinese "Ambáns" or "Residents," to assist him in the administration of the affairs of the country.

T 642 Since then no fundamental change in the constitution of the Lhása

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466 [103]MINER--There are none in Ladák. The only mines in Ladák, are the Pooga mines, where borax is made, and these are worked by what is practically "Beygar" or forced labour, as certain villages are compelled to supply a certain number of men to work in the mines, at a merely nominal rate of pay. These mines are about to be closed for some time probably for ever.

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645 MINISTER--In the days of the Ladák Rajas, "Ministers," that is to say, all the upper class officials, belonged to the "rjeyriks" caste, which again was divided into four Sub-divisions, viz., 1 cho, 2 kálón, 3 lonpo, 4 hlardak.

In Ladák, the Prime Minister latterly belonged to the kalon section, hence the word kálón has come to have the meaning of "Prime Minister." I believe the cho section is that from which Prime Ministers were selected in older days. Now-a-days, Ladák is governed by a Kashmiri Wazir and Náib-Wazir, whose Ladaki assistants are spoken of as "trungkhor" or "those who sit round in front" of the chief.

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533 MINSTREL--hlumkhan (a singer), rdungkhan (a player). The professional singers and players are of the "beyda" and "mon" castes, but no shame attaches to singing and playing and many zamindars and other persons of good caste, play and sing at weddings, and on other festive occasions.

805 MINUTE--tshirla or ngótok (exact). The Ladákis don't count time by the minute--for "a few minutes," they would say "SHribchik" or "sribchik." Time is of no value to them, and they count very roughly, i.e., by the half day, etc. The Lámás have hour glasses, some work with sand, like our hour-glasses, others are brass vessels with a small hole in them, so arranged that the amount of water entering the vessel, through this hole, in the course of an hour, causes the vessel to sink in the pan of water in which it is kept. Up to the present time Ladákis have not taken to watches or clocks.

[104]
797 MISSION--For the past four years there has been a branch of the Moravian Mission, established at Leh, but though the missionary at the head of it, my very worthy friend the Reverend F.A. Redslob, is a Tibetan scholar, in touch with the people, and universally liked and respected, by all who know him. I do not

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(8) But the king of Ladák reserves to himself the village (or district ?) of Monthser (i.e., Minsar) in Ngárees-khor-sum, that he may be independent there; and he sets aside its revenue for the purpose of meeting the expense involved in keeping up the sacrificial lights at Káng-ree (i.e., Kailás), and the Holy Lakes of Mánásarwar and Rakas Tál.

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With reference to the first clause of the treaty, it may be explained that, roughly speaking, king Skyed-lda-ngeema-gon gave the following territories to his sons:--

(a) To the eldest son--The countries now known as Ladák and Purig, extending from Hánley on the east to the Zójila Pass on the west, and including Rudok and the Gogpo gold district.

(b) To the secord [sic] son--Googey, Poorang and certain other small districts.

(c) To the third son--Zángskar, Spiti, and certain other small districts.

H.R.

which have by now mostly become mute and with which they did not know what to do. Hand in hand with the reading went the writing. They wrote on small wooden tablets covered with black lacquer with wide reed pens and white, sticky clay. In the course of three winters Dondrub had brought his pupils to the point that they were able to read and write simple things fairly fluently in the printed and in the written script. Aside from reading and writing, the lama also taught the boys a little arithmetic, but in so doing he did not go beyond the numerical cycle of 100; his own knowledge did not extend beyond that. The rosary with its 108 beads had to serve in this--as it also does otherwise in monetary transactions between Tibetans--as a counting machine.

Lama Dondrub did not plague either himself or his students with any other branches of knowledge. Old Konchog Trashi told them the old legends and fairytales /51/; from him the boys also heard how the ancient, once mighty West Tibetan Kingdom of Ladakh came to an end when the Dogras from northwestern India (Jammu) invaded the country and vanquished the poorly armed and poorly led but valiant men of Ladakh after a six-year battle, deposed the king, and assumed rule. Now they also understood why in the capital of Leh there dominated and ruled a Wasir who did not belong to their people but who was an Indian; they understood why their district was administered by an Indian district official and judge and why in the fortresses in Leh, in Kalatse, and in Kargil there were Indian soldiers stationed who were sent now here and now there in order to maintain peace and order and to remind recalcitrant taxpayers and forced laborers of their duty by forcible means.

Not overburdened with book learning Namgyal thus entered life. The little he had learned nevertheless elevated him above the majority of his compatriots who had not attended school and who mostly had no desire to do so. "We are stupid as oxen," neighbor Sherab used to say, despite his proud name which means "wisdom." "Our fathers were unable to read or write, why should we bother with it? We have more important things to do with our fields and with our cattle. A farmer has no time to acquire book learning; that is a matter for the lamas."

Even if Namgyal's book learning did not go very far, he nevertheless developed into an industrious Tibetan farmer under the tutelage and instigation of his father and of his uncle Stobsldan, a brother of his father's. He soon knew how to handle horses, donkeys, cows, sheep and goats; he knew how to lead the plow skillfully through the stony field and how to water the field and the garden properly; he was able to

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER 19

THE CHURCH AS LANDLORD

I believe it was an Englishman, reporting on conditions in Tibet some years back, who said that it was a nation where there were more "crazily rich and crazily poor" than in any other in the world. Fewer than one hundred families and the monasteries own practically all the wealth of Tibet. Somewhat the same condition exists in Ladakh. How much of the land is owned by the monasteries is not readily ascertained. The monastic heads do not discuss those matters; and officials are reluctant to give out the figures. Hence I was not able to get complete figures. But the percentage of the land owned is well over 50 per cent; and it is normally the choice land. The vast majority of the 80,000 people in Ladakh are either attached to the monasteries as lamas or work for the monasteries as farm tenants.

Ladakh ethnologically, culturally, geologically, and geographically is a part of Tibet, though politically it is not. Yet Ladakh has such a close relationship to Tibet that in 1951 I heard prom-

inent people say that if the Kashmir dispute were resolved in Pakistan's favor Ladakh would forsake India and rejoin Tibet. Ladakh has long been called Little Tibet; but it never was, strictly speaking, a Tibetan province. Commercially it had ties with Yarkand and Kashmir. Religiously it had ties to the Dalai Lama, to whom Ladakh sent an annual tribute. And thus it was politically allied to Tibet. But it was, in fact, an independent principality under a mild despotism.

It was ruled by a king who did little but collect revenues and sit in contemplation as a Buddhist prince. The Prime Minister was the administrative officer. His position was almost hereditary, staying in one family for years. Ladakh had a nobility made up of petty chiefs, each of whom had dominion over a valley or region. There were eight of these, one of them being Gya, where we stayed.

The early kings and nobles were patrons of the lamas and gave them grants of land. That was the beginning of the wealth of the monasteries. Wealth begat wealth; the rich became richer. Revenues were used to acquire new farming lands. Pious men presented monasteries with lands. Farmers who had no sons left their wealth to the church when they died. The economic power of the monasteries grew and grew.

This hold of the monasteries on Ladakh goes back to a political maneuver by the secular power. About the seventh century the kings of Ladakh and Tibet used Lamaism to circumvent the feudal powers of local nobles. This region was a large collection of separate political oases ruled over by local families. The early kings used the church to tie all these communities together. The church, in other words, became the unifying power, growing larger and larger and becoming a continuous force until eventually it superseded not only the local nobles but the secular kings themselves. No secular power arose to displace the church for several reasons. The communities were widely dispersed; the communication between them was difficult; there were no large, local units

[Ladakh -- Analyst]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

that could dominate the rest. And so monastic Buddhism united social and political groups, isolated from each other, into one common community. That is the essential unity of Ladakh and Tibet today.

One Tibetan king tried in the tenth century to oust the church, but he failed. His name was Langdharma. He is known in lama tradition today as the incarnation of wickedness.

It was not always easy going for the monasteries. In the middle of the sixteenth century Moslems swept down from the northwest; and again about A.D. 1600 they invaded from the west. They destroyed monasteries and threw the libraries into the Indus. The Moslem rule was short-lived. The monasteries shortly regained their position. In the Great Mongol War of 1646–47 the Maharajah of Kashmir, whose troops were in command of the brave Wazir Zorawar, annexed Ladakh to India. About 1834 General Zorawar Singh, acting for the Rajah of Jammu, again conquered Ladakh for India, driving before him into Tibet about nine thousand lamas or three quarters of the monks of the monasteries. Singh moved on to Tibet and in 1841 was defeated by the Chinese, who swept down to Leh and held it for a few weeks. But they were driven out by Moslems; and, ever since, Ladakh has been politically a part of Kashmir. But in 1951 and 1952 Ladakh was insisting that it be a federated state in Kashmir, having the same relation to Kashmir as Kashmir has to India. In that way Ladakh would retain home rule.

Ladakh still has a king. I met him at Leh. He is a slight, wiry chap in his twenties and at present is an officer in the Indian Army. He still has a palace; he is still king in name; and his wife, the Queen owns the most beautiful, the most expensive *perakh* in Ladakh. But their titles and rank are titular only and have been for a century.

The lands are rented by the monasteries under various tenancy systems:

(1) The landlord furnishes the seed and gets in return three

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

triumph was short-lived. A Buddhist priest disguised in the black sacerdotal robes of the *Bon Chos*, presented himself before the King with a petition, and, when near enough, drew from his ample robes a bow and arrow and killed the leader of his religious enemies. The assassin escaped by turning his coat inside out and showing the white lining.

Langdarma reigned about A.D. 900 and from him all the kings of Ladak have descended, for although they are split up into two dynasties, the later one is traced from a younger brother of the last king of the first line. An account of what happened under the various kings of these dynasties would be beyond the scope of this book, but let us rapidly trace the fortunes of the Western Himalayan kingdom, now represented by Ladak, and formerly including also the province of Baltistan. At first various royal personages held sway in different parts of the country, but the one in Leh was a descendant of the King of the Central Kingdom (Tibet proper), while in another part there ruled a Dard King. Between these two Kings there was continual strife, but at last the Leh ruler seems to have won the mastery in matters temporal, and increasingly in matters spiritual. One King introduced Buddhist literature from Central Tibet, another made it obligatory on all candidates for the priesthood to go to Lhasa for their training. This can only be regretted by the student of Ladaki as distinct from Tibetan literature, for, besides putting a stop to the growth of Indian Buddhism, it also inhibited the literary genius of this people, whose tales of by-gone days indicate how their literature might have developed.

By about the time of the fourteenth century Buddhism had quite prevailed, and, as is so often seen with this religion, having once subdued the indigenous faith, it incorporated much of the *Bon Chos* in its own tenets. The Lamaism of the present day thus consists of a large proportion of *Bon Chos* with a smaller mixture of Buddhism, the former still

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

promising to send tribute to Lhasa. Thus even to-day the anomaly exists that Ladak, though subject to the Maharajah of Kashmir, yet has to send a kind of tribute to Lhasa, of which more anon.

The final fall of the Western Tibetan Empire occurred about the year 1840, when the Sikhs with the help of the Rajah of Jammu had conquered Kashmir, and the latter, wishing to enlarge his borders sent his general, Sorowar, to conquer Ladak. It would take us too long to follow this general in all his campaigns ; suffice it to say he was uniformly successful in bringing the country into subjection as much by his wise statesmanship as by his good generalship.

Thus it comes about that Ladak and Baltistan have become dependencies of the Kashmir State, over which his Highness, the Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, now rules. His interests here are looked after by the Wazir of Ladak, who spends the summer in Leh and the winter in Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, and may be regarded as the Kashmir Joint Commissioner, whereas his Majesty, the Emperor of India, is represented by the British Joint Commissioner, who spends about three months here in the summer, and the rest of the year resides in Srinagar as one of the assistants to the British Resident there. The chief duties of the latter are to look after things pertaining to the "Treaty Road" and to watch over the interests of foreigners in Ladak, whether they be Europeans, Yarkandis or Central Tibetans. During the absence of both these officials in winter, the highest authority in Leh is vested in the chief Magistrate or Tehsildar, whose Tehsil or area of jurisdiction extends as far as Botkharbu, where that of his colleague at Kargil begins. A third Tehsil also exists at Skardu. These Tehsildars are, of course, servants of the State of Kashmir, so also is the Naib (or Sub-Tehsildar). The State Dispensary with its Sub-Assistant Surgeon, the Telegraph office with its "Babu" in charge, are also State services, but the Post Office is Imperial, and the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

631 Aksakal, who represents the British Government in assisting
636 Yarkandi traders, and the "Charas Officer" in charge of the Indian hemp trade from Yarkand, both of the latter connected with the "Treaty Road," are also Imperial Government
563 servants. These officials and sub-officials are prominent in
631 the public life of Leh, taking their due precedence at public entertainments, and are all down-country men, mostly Punjabis and Kashmiris. We look for the day when there will be enough educated Ladakis to take up these positions in their own land.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER VIII

Into Zankskar

631 ZANGLA is the capital of a small province of Zankskar, consisting of only seven villages, which were presented to a former King in reward for aid rendered to Zorowar, the Dogra general, on his way through to the conquest of Ladak.

643 We were heartily welcomed by the King, who is also a
797 *Skushog*, and who allowed us to put up our tents in his private
576 garden. That evening, when requiring a place in which to show our lantern slides, a fine large room in the castle was put at our disposal; the majority of the villagers came to the entertainment, and his Majesty also honoured the performance, sitting on a chair, of which he possessed two, placed among his subjects, who squatted on the floor around.

466 Next morning quite a concourse of men had gathered to
482 carry our luggage. Some of our loads were naturally lighter than others, but in Zangla everything is done in an orderly fashion. A young fellow, perhaps the only layman of the village who can read, has a small bundle of sticks, on one of which each male villager has his name written. The ones representing those whose turn it is to carry to-day are picked out and placed at haphazard on the various bundles. Each man finds his own name-stick, and without demur shoulders the load which the god of fortune has sent him.

In the province of Bashahr things are not quite so nicely arranged, for when it comes to the casting of lots, each man fetches a stick for himself, but if he happens later to find that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the 25th of the tenth month till the 3rd of the eleventh month, eight lamas from Hemis have to come to read services for the stabilization of his throne. One cannot help thinking that these must have become slack in their devotions! At other times the gods of peace and war have to be propitiated by further reading. By the time all these ceremonies have been performed, there cannot be many days on which the lamas have not to be rewarded for services rendered, and—all on about Rs4,000 per annum.

Then he himself has his matins and evensong to read. Even before the family has risen he must get up and read his *chos*, and after they have retired he has to perform more ceremonies.

So pass the days of this monarch; little of interest occurs in his life, which is filled up with a monotonous round of senseless readings of holy books, which neither he, nor those who read, try to understand. The word "Ichabod" might indeed be written over the house of Namrgyal.

Although the Rajah of Stog, as he is termed, is the chief ruler in this country, there are other royalties of minor importance, thus the "King of Marshro" has but one village under his sway. His eldest son will rule in his stead one day, whilst the powers which decide in what bodies *Skushogs* reincarnate have fortunately discovered in his younger son, the new Bacola, the *Spitug Skushog*.

In Zankskar we have already met a King, who is also a *Skushog*, in fact, he is prouder of his priestly office than of his royal rank, and stranger still is the custom of that country, where the heir apparent to the throne is the second son and not the eldest, who becomes a proper lama.

Whilst we were in Padam, the capital of Zankskar, a poor old gentleman called on us in our tents with a few dried apricots and some candy sugar. After some time we found that he was the real scion of the royal house of Zankskar, but his ancestor had lost his crown by trying to oppose Zorowar,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

stretching down below the hem of the gown. In the summer, Bata gym shoes seem to be the usual footwear adopted by both sexes, but I heard that during the winter months boots (probably of the Tibetan woollen variety) are generally worn.

3. HISTORY

Historically, it would appear that Lahul is a mountainous area in which Munda speaking aborigines from India and Tibetans were successfully amalgamated, perhaps some 2000 years B.C. Hiuen Tsiang, the 7th century A.D. Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, is the first to mention the country officially, in the narrative of his journey. Three influences seem at that time to have been noticeable in Lahul: Ladaki from the north, Chamba from the west, and Kulu from the south. All through its history the area has been a meeting place of these three outside political rivalries, and it has always succumbed to one of them, never having successfully achieved any independence of its own.

The local chieftains, known originally as Jos (from the Tibetan *Jo-wo* (*Jo-bo*), "lord") and later as Thakurs (an Indian appellation of rank), did nevertheless attain some autonomous status, but were always subject to paying tribute to whichever side was uppermost at the time. After the Ladaki domination of the 11th century, Chamba and Kulu united to drive out Tibetan influence, which was, however, restored about one hundred and fifty years later. With the centralization of the lamaist monastic system in Lhasa in the 14th century, children were sent to the Tibetan capital for education, and this fact had a lasting effect on the culture of Lahul, giving it a pronounced Tibetan character.

With the fall of the Ladaki kingdom to the Mongolians in the latter part of the seventeenth century, Kulu seized the opportunity to invade Lahul, and to bring it entirely under its sway. Barbog, the leading house of Lahul, resisted and was deprived of its powers as a consequence. The other *jos* submitted, were given land (*jagirs*), and their change of title to that of Thakur probably dates back to that time. Since then, they have tried to pass themselves off as Rajputs, but their Tibetan origin is not to be doubted.

In 1840, the Sikhs of the Punjab took over Lahul, together with Kulu. They kept it until the British defeated them six years later and established their rule in the valley. It remained thus as long as the British Raj held sway and only passed to the present Republic of India as a consequence of independence being granted in 1947.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

4. ADMINISTRATION

In 1938, when I was in Lahul, the administration and collection of land revenue was in the hands of Thakur Partap Chand. A 3rd class honorary Magistrate with his court in Kyelang, he was called the Wazir and was also Sub-Registrar and responsible for supplies to all travellers, official or not, such as myself. The British had obviously found it convenient to continue the old system by which the Thakurs (or Jos) had always ruled the country.

Thakur Partap Chand was the son of Thakur Amar Chand who for many years was the principal administrator, under the British, of Lahul. His family, which is that of the Thakurs of Kolong, had been entrusted with the position since 1851. Thakur Mangal Chand, uncle of Partrap Chand, was still alive when I was in Kyelang, and he became one of my informants.

The three other Thakur families of Lahul are those of Barbog, Gungrang and Gondhla, the first of these taking precedence. The kings of Ladak still intermarry with this family, but the present descendant of the ancient royal house is married to a lady of the Thakurs of Gungrang. They are the largest landlords and are considered senior to Kolong.

5. LAND-TENURE AND ECONOMY

Cultivated land, throughout the fourteen *khotis* into which Lahul is administratively divided, falls into two categories: *Khalsa khoti* or Government land, and *jagir khoti* or land of the landlords. The Kolong Thakur, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for the collection of revenue from the first of these two, having been entrusted with the task by the British. *Khalsa khotis*, by far the most numerous, are looked upon legally as *jeolas* (allotments) made over by the paramount power to individuals who, in exchange, pay taxes and render services to the Government. These holdings are never very large, rarely exceeding two acres, and often well below that figure. Among the polyandry-practising Buddhists, they remain undivided, as we shall see, and are thus generally of the same size as when they were originally granted. With the Hindu Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley, much partition has taken place at marriage, and the holdings are consequently very reduced in size.

Jagir khotis are exclusively those of the Thakurs of Gungrang, Kolong and Gondhla, the first of these having the largest piece of land. Fields

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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105 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal prop-
423 erty known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his
631 family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to vil-
lagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of land-holders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*nGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay
[651] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced
466 labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice
[651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collect-
233 ing grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled
631 to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to
651 the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough
227 to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy
439 wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

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595 who are predominantly Buddhist in Lahul follow the custom, the Hindu
795 Brahmins of the Chandra-Bhaga valley finding it most repugnant to do so.

595 It was difficult to discover if the Thakurs were polyandrous or not.
631 As Tibetans and Buddhists, they should follow this system of matrimony since it is part of their culture. They have, however, come very much under Hindu influence with the past conquests of Kulu, and I have related how, since that time, they like to consider themselves Rajputs. For this reason, they denied to me that they were polyandrous, but I found it hard to take them at their word. Probably, they carry on with this arrangement in private, when no inconvenient witnesses are about to hold it against them as high caste, Kshatriya Hindus.

595 No sooner had I arrived in Kyelang and met the Wazir, Thakur Partap Chand, than the latter, on being informed of what I was looking for, took me straight along to a polyandrous family that he knew in the town. It was on the 21st of June, 1938, and to me, this remained a memorable day, for here at last, after hearing so much about it, was polyandry as I was seeking it.

The household to which I was taken was one called Barun-pa, and it was situated in the upper (northern) part of Kyelang. We went there
[342] at five o'clock in the afternoon and, after walking down narrow streets between mud walls, we entered through a doorway into a courtyard and climbed up by a narrow staircase onto a terrace on the first floor outside a large room, which appeared to be the living quarters of the family.

A young man was introduced as Sönam (*bSod-Nams*), twenty one years old, head of the house of Barun-pa since the death of his father.
[291] He was dressed in a long, yellow silk gown and wore a small Lahuli cap on his head. This made him out to be a person of somewhat better means than most, and since his house was not situated on any *jaghir* land of any of the Thakurs, his was presumably a *khalsa khoti* holding.

[352] He took us to some stools in a corner in front of a small wooden
[574] table and asked us to sit down and take some tea. While waiting, using the Thakur as interpreter, I learned that Sönam was married to a young girl aged seventeen, who was also the wife of his two brothers. The ages of the latter, I was surprised to hear, were eight and ten respectively. His mother was still alive, and lived in the same house with them all.

It was not the mother, however, who came along with the tea. The young wife did this, and my notes have a description of the finery that she wore and the jewels that she had on. Sönam said that he, and not his parents, had chosen her. She was from a neighbouring village, and

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Tibetan Nomads

the Indian plains. I also came across the first tent-dwelling nomads, miserable people living in their black yak-hair tents, the latter standing like spiders because of their strange construction in which the supporting poles and sticks are placed outside instead of inside the cloth.

When I arrived at our destination, I was taken into camp by the *goba* and his nephew (see Appendix 1, Narrative of journeys). There I found some more black Tibetan tents, in among flocks of sheep and herds of yaks (*gYag*), animals from which our hosts made their living. I put up our tent next to the largest tent of all, which was that of the *goba*.

The camp was situated on a large, flat expanse of grass, surrounded by snow-clad hills, and the altitude was 14,500 feet. The plateau came to an abrupt end to the east and, beyond it, I could see the vast expanse of the brackish waters of Tso Moriri which is fifteen miles long. I was not able to see the monastery from where I was because it was hidden by a fold in the ground; it stood on the edge of the lake below, beneath the sudden overhang of the high plateau above. There was a large white *chöten* at this spot which gave the direction in which the *gompa* lay.

This monastery, called Korzok gompa (*dKor-rDzogs dGon-pa*) is one of the highest anywhere on the Tibetan plateau. It derives its livelihood from the revenue which it acquires from the summer visits of nomads from Tibet, from subsidies which it receives from the monasteries upon which it is dependant in Bhutan (for it belongs to the Drug-pa or Kagyut-pa sect, like those in Lahul), from the commercial activities of its abbot and monks who all indulge in trade, and from its agricultural efforts which, as I saw with astonishment, consist in growing barley, in spite of the altitude, and harvesting it during the short summer season from June to the middle of August.

The chief lama, a *tulku* (*sPrul-sKu*) or Incarnation, whom I had met on the way up to the Rupchu plateau, is called Lang-na Rimpoche (*gLang sNa Rin-po-ch'he*), meaning "Precious Elephant Trunk". He exerts considerable religious influence on the nomadic population which congregates every summer round his residence, and, at that time, he and the *goba* were actually the most important people in the area.

The nomads are called in Tibetan either Chang-pa (*Byang-pa*) because they inhabit the high northern plains, the Chang T'hang (*Byang-T'hang*), or Drok-pa (*aBrog-pa*) meaning "pastoral ones". Those whom I saw at Korzok normally live in the lower province of Tibet proper, Ngari Korsum, just north of where we were. During the summer, they come up to Kashmir to graze their flocks and herds, and here enter into contact with the men from Lahul. Their animals belong to the *goba*

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(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *berag* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly

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3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply [101] people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine [101] people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emi- [144] grants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races intermingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [631] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the

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Ladaki king having to pay for it, however, as he was forced by his saviour to become a Moslem. Shortly afterwards, the Mongols returned from entrenched positions near the Pangkong Tso, and in 1647, imposed a treaty known by the name of the king's capital, Tingmogang. In accordance with this, the frontier was fixed where it is today in the east, and Ladak was obliged to send a caravan with presents to Lhasa every three years. This latter clause was observed as late as 1950, but has been discontinued since the recent occupation of Tibet by the Chinese Communists.

After Delegs Namgyal had succeeded in extricating himself and his country, somewhat precariously, from the double threat of Mongol and Moghul entanglements, continuous quarrels of succession amongst his heirs further weakened the kingdom. The two kings, Tseten Namgyal (*Ts'he-brTan rNam-rGyal*) and Tsepal Namgyal (*Ts'he-dPal rNam-rGyal*), brothers who succeeded each other but who also lived in polyandry as long as the eldest of them was alive (the youngest was at the time a lama at Himis *gompa*), proved to be the last of the reigning line.

In 1819, Rangit Singh, king of the Sikhs and "Lion of the Punjab", conquered Kashmir with the assistance of Gulab Singh, Dogra Maharaja of Jammu. After the death of the Sikh monarch in 1834, the allies became estranged and Gulab Singh decided to consolidate his hold on the vale of Kashmir by extending his realm to include Baltistan and Ladak. The British were consulted, and when they expressed no objection, Zorowar Singh, Jammu's ablest general, was sent east with an expeditionary force. A great leader and a remarkable strategist, he succeeded very quickly in annexing Western Tibet, but the former allies, the Sikhs, did not allow the Dogras to enjoy their conquest. They continually conducted underhand intrigues with the object of stirring up trouble among the conquered Baltis and Ladakis.

Time and again, Zorowar Singh was obliged to lead punitive and repressive campaigns, and Jigme Namgyal (*aJigs-Med rNam-rGyal*), grandson of the last reigning king of Ladak, was kept in Leh as a vassal king of the Dogra masters. In 1841, in order to distract their wards from rebelling against them, the Dogras decided to march into Tibet and to add Guge and other territories to the east to their Tibetan possessions. Zorowar Singh was again entrusted with the campaign, and this courageous and hardy soldier crossed the border of the Chang T'hang in mid-winter. On December the 10th, he camped at an altitude of 15,000 feet, at Tirtapur, opposite the lines of a Tibetan army which Lhasa had sent to stop his progress. The battle, which began on that

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175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

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In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

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in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work.

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction.

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler.

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nangdzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom.

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tib

137 The villages are bare of trees; only at one or two places a few willows and poplars are to be seen.

563 The inhabitants are of two, or even it may be said three, distinct races; Matāyan has Kashmīrī who have been settled there for some generations; the hamlets of Drās are partly Dārd and partly Baltī; of these people I propose to defer the account till later.

631 We have spoken of Drās as one of the valleys of Ladākh. The bounds of Ladākh may be taken differently, according as we consider it politically or from any other point of view. Drās has not the same inhabitants nor the same religion as the central part of Ladākh, being in these respects more allied to Baltistān; but in the time of the old rulers Drās was part of the kingdom of Ladākh, and we too will reckon it as coming under that name, although latterly, for administrative purposes, it has been put with Baltistān.

DRĀS TO KARGIL: THREE MARCHES.

133* The distance from Dras to Kargil is 40 miles; it makes two good marches and a short one. The road continues down the same valley, over stony ground, along the foot of great rocky [361] mountains. Few villages are passed, and even those one goes near are not always visible from the path, for some are situated hundreds of feet above, on plateaus, the remains of denuded alluvial fans.

I have used this word "fan" before, and I shall in the future so often have to repeat it, applying it to a certain form of alluvial deposit, that it will be well here to explain the exact meaning attached to it.

When a side-stream debouches from a narrow gorge into a wide valley it is apt to deposit the material it carries down (washed from the mountains behind) in a fan-like form at the mouth of the ravine. This fan is part of a low cone, having its apex at the point of debou ment; the slope of it, which may be a few degrees, is very regular along each radius; the spread of it may vary from a few hundred yards to a few miles; the thickness of the

½ [on th le of the Dras Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

133x remain on. The sketch gives the outline of the peak-masses with some exactness. It does not reach to the foot of the mountains in the valley, as the eye does from some points of view; when it does so there is in sight, in a distance of 18 miles, a vertical height of 15,000 feet. Farther along to the south-east other peaks rise for a thousand or two feet above the general level of the ridge, which seems to continue at 20,000 feet, till it ends suddenly at the corner where the Shāyok makes the great bend. So much for the central ridge. The secondary ridges branch off from it with a height corresponding to its general level. Their edge is serrated, but not deeply so. They continue for many miles without any sudden fall to perhaps an average distance of three miles short of the edge of the valley, where in height they may be 18,000 feet. At these points they make the peaks which are seen when one is in the valley. From them there is a great and sudden fall down to the valley, the slope of which is about 35°; this is remarkably regular for all the distance—of nearly 50 miles—that is within sight, with the exception that the ravines (some that reach to the central ridge and some that go but a few miles back) cut up the sloping face into triangular masses of which the base is from mouth to mouth of two ravines, while the apex is at the end of the intermediate branch ridge. The general colour of the mountains below the snow (and it is only the peaks, rising higher than the ridges, that are snowy) is a light greyish brown, from the hue of the granite they are mostly composed of A darker streak along the foot marks the position of the altered shale. The surface of the mountains is usually not so precipitous as to form great continuous cliffs, but is worn all over into numerous minor ramifying gulleys and ravines, whose sides are rugged slopes of rock.

ZANSKĀR.

133x 563 ●631 Zānskār is a district of Ladākh which lies south-west of Leh, towards the Watershed Range; its extent nearly coincides with that of the basin of the large river, tributary to the Indus, which is called after the name of the country. Zānskār is closely united

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

to the rest of Ladākh both by physical characters and by the close relationship in race, speech, religion, and character that exists between the people of the two countries. Till forty years ago, Zānskār was equally connected with Central Ladākh by political ties, being governed by a Raja, who was dependent on the Gyalpo at Leh; but now it belongs (as can be seen from the Political Map) not to the Ladākh Governorship, but to the district of Udampūr, in the Outer Hills, having been attached to this for, so to say, accidental reasons.

From all sides the approach to Zānskār, placed, as it is, in a maze of mountains, is of considerable difficulty. To the south-west of it the wide Snowy Range makes a barrier, to cross which must be a laborious and may be a dangerous business. From the north-west and the south-east, indeed, roads lead in from Surū and from Rupshu respectively, to traverse which is less difficult, but these lead over long uninhabited tracts. That way which first one would look to for communication with Leh — by the valley of the Zānskār River—is quite impassable, except when the winter's frost makes a road over the waters of the river. Instead of this, in summer time, the traveller from Leh has to make a long detour by Lāmāyūrū; he has to traverse fifteen stages, in which several Passes have to be surmounted, before Zānskār is reached.

By far the greater part of the area of Zānskār is occupied by the ridges and the ravines of mountains, either of the Snowy Watershed Range, or of the more complicated mass lying between that and Central Ladākh. The inhabited region is nearly all included in the valleys of two streams and of the river they make by their union. These two streams come, one from the north-west, the other from south-east; uniting, they together flow away to the north-east. At their junction is a wide open space, which is the central part of Zānskār; it includes in itself the most important places. This space is a triangle, with a base of seven miles, and a perpendicular of five; on the three sides it is bounded by bare mountains. But a very small proportion of this plain is cultivated; the most of it is an expanse of stony ground; the

241 [231] [262] range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmina*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872] Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.